Better Schools
for Chicago

Our Schools
Our Children

Chicago Public School League
110 South Dearborn Street
CHICAGO
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DR. OTTO L. SCHMIDT.

FEELING the need for representation on the part of the parents, the school children and the taxpayers of Chicago in the public school situation, a number of citizens and taxpayers organized the Chicago Public School League on October 17.

The officers and executive committee named in this booklet were elected to carry on the work of the organization. The citizens represented in the organization feel that conditions are arising in the public school system which require vigilant watching and vigorous action in order to make the public schools free and efficient in education. The organization stands in the forefront of a movement in behalf of the unorganized parents of the city. Its purpose is expressed in its motto:

“Our Schools for Our Children”
THE following statement from the charter issued by the Secretary of State gives in detail the purpose of the Chicago Public School League.

"The object of this league shall be to increase the educational efficiency of the Public School System of Chicago by:

1. By assisting the public to form a correct judgment concerning the work and character of the members of the School Board;

2. By aiding in the selection of desirable members for the Board of Education;

3. By furnishing the public and the city of Chicago exact information concerning the school system;

4. By supporting the Board of Education in all of its work looking to the improvement of the Public Schools;

5. By furthering the service of the Public Schools by means of comprehensive surveys of school systems and school managements in other metropolitan cities of the United States and other countries."
The Public Education Association
of Chicago

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BULLETIN No. 1

A series of Bulletins will be prepared under the supervision of the Executive Committee of the Association and will be distributed from time to time by the Committee in the effort to present in convenient form impartial statements of facts, the results of experience in other cities, and the opinions of recognized authorities in education, in their relation to important phases of our school problem. Bulletin Nos. 2 and 3 will follow immediately.
THE SCHOOL PROBLEM IN CHICAGO

Everyone realizes that the school system of Chicago has grown very complicated. When a population of children approaching 400,000 is under the instruction of more than 8,000 teachers, and when nearly one-third of the total expenditures of the city go for schools, it is evident that the school system is a huge organization. It is little wonder that people are somewhat confused as to how this complicated organization is to work.

What Is a Representative Board of Education

Some people want the school board to be large, so that everyone may be represented. They think that it is desirable that there should be members on the board from every district in the city, every nationality, the various trades, and the various professions.

A board cannot be made into a representative body in this sense. It would never be large enough to include everybody, and it would be unwieldy in action. What is needed is a small board that will be broad in its interests, that will ask many questions covering all sections of the city, and that can act promptly. This board should have laid before it carefully drawn plans touching all the interests of the community.

This small board has to decide general policies and select the people to carry out these policies. It should not operate the schools but should see that they are operated. It should require evidence from the people who operate the schools showing that they are doing it successfully. It should demand and issue reports that are clear and intelligible to the whole community.

The Functions of a Board of Education

The functions of the board of education have never been fully understood in American cities because it has been thought of as the means employed by the people to conduct the schools.
Making the Machine Work Smoothly

By the time a school system reaches the point where it has all these specialists, it becomes necessary to give much attention to the central planning of a scheme of operation which shall make the whole machine work smoothly. There must be a central office where management is provided. In setting up this central office there has been a great deal of experimenting. Sometimes a teacher has been put in charge; sometimes a board member, in such case the president of the board has taken charge. Some years ago the city of Cleveland tried the experiment of putting a business manager in charge. This business manager appointed the superintendent of instruction. If one goes back into the history of Chicago, he finds that a business manager to take charge of school lands was appointed two years before the superintendent of instruction was appointed.

Gradually out of all the experimenting there has arisen a new type of school officer, a superintendent of schools who is a trained school manager. This manager does not teach; he does not shovel coal into the furnaces in the schools; he does exactly what the head of any great corporation does, he organizes the undertaking. He must know human nature; he must know how to get reports; he must know how to tell the people about the needs of their schools; he must know how to straighten out tangles, and he must know how to judge results. This manager must give his whole time to getting the machinery to work and keeping it in order.

In a large school system the manager’s office will be subdivided and there will need to be some further organization to keep it from falling apart. There will be one person in such an office who will know more about heating school buildings and one who will know about the quality of teaching. The more the subdivision the more precautions necessary to hold all parts of the system together.

The Public Demands Efficient Work

One fact must be kept in mind. The public wants the highest degree of expertness in the management of the schools that it can afford to pay for. The public does not want the
board members to substitute their personal services for those of expert managers. The public expects the board to provide management but not to be the managers.

**Permanence in Organization**

Furthermore, there should be as great a degree of permanence as possible in the school organization. To be sure, there must be enough change in people to insure progressiveness in policy, but there should not be so much change as to jeopardize efficiency.

**Some Important Problems**

Such a review as the foregoing brings out some of the problems to be faced by a great school system. There are five problems which can be selected for special comment.

1. How large should the board of education be?
2. What is the relation of the board of education to the central management of the school system?
3. What is the relation of the school system to the other governmental activities of the community?
4. How does the school system conserve its property?
5. What degree of permanence in the organization is desirable?

**Proposed Remedial Legislation**

There are three bills now pending in the State Legislature which propose to modify the existing law. One of these has been introduced by Senator Baldwin; the second, introduced in the House by Mr. Mueller, is sponsored by Mr. Otis, member of the board of education; the third was prepared by the Alderman Buck Sub-Committee of the City Council, and has been introduced in the House by Mr. Frank J. Seif.

**Size of the Board**

In answer to the question of the size of the board, the existing law says 21 members, the Baldwin bill says 21, the Otis bill says 11, and the Buck bill says 7. In cities of the United States of 100,000 and over the average is nine. The board should be not over 11 in any case; experience of other cities indicates that 9 or 7 would be still better.

It is the common opinion of the leading writers on school administration that large boards such as we have in Chicago are unwieldy and incoherent, seldom transact the public business quickly, and tend to become a public debating society. Such a board is almost always divided into factions. The board should be small enough to meet around a single table to discuss matters in a simple, direct and business like manner. The experience of the past fifty years is clearly and unmistakably that a small board is a more effective and a more efficient body than a large one.

The existing law does not define in any way the relation of the board to the other school officers, especially the management. In practice the board has done everything by its own action.

**School Executives**

The Baldwin bill provides for certain executives but does not define their duties.

The Otis bill provides for a superintendent, a business manager and an attorney, each independent of the other and each related to the other only through their respective relations to the board. This method tends to perpetuate the deadlock that the present disorganization has produced.

The Buck bill provides for a single head of the system in charge of all the affairs of the schools. This makes it unnecessary to adjust detailed relations because they are all centered in a single officer to whom all other executive and professional members of the staff will be subordinate, subject to the general oversight of the board.

The Otis bill has the good point of attempting to establish a basis of good management. Its method is that of creating certain executive offices with definite duties. As, however, there is no sufficient provision under which these independent executives must work together, the bill should be amended by inserting certain clauses which will correct the isolation of the various subdivisions which it creates in the central offices, for example, as follows:
Advisable Amendments to the Otis Bill

The superintendent should after consultation with the principals and teachers and assistant superintendents make recommendations to the board on the course of study, on the choice of textbooks, equipment, supplies and educational apparatus. The recommendations in these matters should be accompanied, wherever expenditures are involved, by detailed estimates of costs which should be prepared by the superintendent with the co-operation of the business manager.

The superintendent should, with the co-operation of the business manager, make reports to the board of education regarding sites for school buildings, regarding the extent of the accommodations required in buildings, regarding the amount and quality of all equipment necessary, and regarding the distribution of the same.

All plans for buildings should come before the board with the recommendations of the superintendent and the business manager, and these recommendations should become a part of the record of the board’s action.

The superintendent and the business manager should jointly prepare and present to the board an estimate of all expenditures, this estimate to be in the form of an annual budget. The budget should be presented not later than the first day of May of each year and should cover an estimate of income and expenditures for the school year next following, and should be accompanied by a full statement of new items introduced in any given year together with a statement of the reasons for these changes, such statement to become a part of the records of the board.

The superintendent, business manager, and attorney should each recommend to the board the assistant officers in their respective divisions. No transfers should be made from one division to the other without the consent of both heads of divisions involved. The board should define the qualifications necessary for appointments in these subordinate positions and the salaries to be paid, but should appoint only on the recommendation of the head of the division.

The superintendent should recommend with the aid of the examining commission such teachers as are necessary for the conduct of the schools. The board should define the qualifications of all teachers and should determine their compensation but should appoint individuals only on recommendation of the superintendent.

The superintendent and business manager should jointly recommend to the board all janitors, custodians, and other persons who are in any wise in charge of school buildings or property used for instructional purposes. The board should define the qualifications and salaries of all such persons but should appoint only on joint recommendation as above provided.

The business manager and the superintendent should jointly prepare for the board a system of accounting which should make available a full and accurate system of reports regarding the costs of all educational operations.

Since there is a single purpose in the operation of the schools, those who have to do with the making of the estimates must work together in preparing a single budget. It is equally clear that certain classes of appointments, such as teachers, must be made upon the recommendation of the superintendent because these are primarily educational, whereas the appointment of janitors, engineers and custodians of school property should be appointed upon the recommendation of the business manager and the superintendent because the exercise of their duties is solely for the purpose of the educational work of the schools.

Relation of Board to the City Government

In regard to the third question of the relation of the board to the other governmental agencies in the city, the Buck bill detaches the board from all other bodies by providing for an elective board and giving this board full financial autonomy. The Baldwin bill and the Otis bill leave the board subject to appointment by the mayor and confirmation by the council, as under the present law.

Finally, the board should be of such size that it will act as a committee of the whole through an expert staff rather than by sub-committees which attempt, with dismal results, to do expert detailed work.
Sale of School Lands

Fourth, in the matter of funds, especially in the important matter of the sale of land, the Baldwin and Otis bills provide for sale on consent of three-fourths of all members of the board. The Buck bill requires unanimous consent and in some cases a referendum.

There are considerable sections of extremely valuable land in our city which belong to the schools and from which they derive revenue. We have in addition recently acquired through the annexation of Clearing a tract of school lands of 640 acres, which in time will become exceedingly valuable. The power should not be given an appointive board, responsible to no one, to alienate any part of this property which will ultimately become of great value and of great service educationally without full knowledge of the matter and after due consideration and without some check by some department of the city government responsible directly to the people.

With regard to the collection of taxes, the Baldwin and Otis bills provide that the council shall levy and collect the taxes. The council bill, which provides for an elected board, provides, also, that the board shall levy and collect taxes for school purposes. The provision that the board shall collect the taxes is wrong. It involves the board in unnecessary expenses and is contrary to the universal custom of having school taxes collected by the municipal tax collecting machinery.

The Otis bill should be made clearer in its financial provisions so as to avoid some of the disputes which have arisen out of the obscure formulation of the existing law.

Terms of Service

Fifth, with regard to permanency, two of the bills go distinctly beyond the existing law. The existing law provides for the appointment of teachers from year to year, and has permitted the practice of electing the superintendent from year to year to become the rule; a combination of absurd provisions that together furnish an impossible basis for the proper conduct of the huge enterprise of public education in our city.

The Baldwin bill has no provision in these matters different from the present law.

Under the existing law the board members are appointed for a term of three years.

The Buck bill makes the term for members of the board six years; for the superintendent the term may be, under contract, four years, otherwise it is indefinite; for teachers it is permanent tenure after a probation of three years. In the Otis bill the term of members of the board is five years, of the superintendent, four years, and of the teachers permanent tenure after a probation of three years.

As a counterbalance for long tenure the Buck bill and the Otis bill each provide for the removal of superintendent and teachers after trial on written charges.

There can be little doubt that, in this matter of dismissal, the present bills are very largely influenced by conditions which have disturbed our school system in recent years. Especially in the granting of permanent tenure to teachers the Buck bill and Otis bill go far beyond the present law in the effort to satisfy the demands of the teachers that they be protected against possibility of summary dismissal. In less measure but tending in the same direction, the provision for a term of years for the superintendent is aimed at a defect in the present law.

Permanent Tenure a Serious Problem

The granting of permanence of tenure is a grave step. Such tenure is very difficult to justify when it is clearly recognized that a teacher is not guaranteed to be efficient throughout his whole life because he was efficient at the time of appointment. A teacher may be moral and earnest and may not be open to any charge which would move a court of law to act in discharging him, but he may by failure to study or from other less voluntary causes fall so far behind a progressive school system that it is a distinct injustice to the schools to continue him in service.

It would be more just to the efficient teachers and to the system to provide a form of continuation of teachers in service based on fitness to do the work of the schools. Teachers have a right as specialists, who have invested in their training money and years of time, to have their professional ability, which is a form of property, protected against capricious treatment.
The community, on the other hand, has a right to be assured that as this ability is employed from year to year it remains of standard grade.

To Protect the Schools as Well as the Teacher

It may accordingly be recommended that substitutes for the provisions giving permanency of tenure in the bills under consideration be prepared, embodying the following suggestions:

1. The board of education should be able to retire teachers under the same provisions which enable teachers under a proper pension law to retire voluntarily from the service, and

2. Owing to the complete failure of methods now in general use of eliminating the inefficient teacher and so preventing dry-rot of the teaching staff, the law should make it mandatory upon the board of education to secure the establishment of a scientific impersonal procedure that shall furnish a continuous record of the efficiency of the members of the teaching force and that shall thus provide the facts upon which to determine the question of continuation in the service; the said procedure to include, after the three-year period of probation and upon the appointment of the teacher, records for each year thereafter setting forth:

   1. Any transfer and the reasons for the same.
   2. The character of the teacher’s management in the classroom.
   3. The teacher’s success in instruction as evidenced by the results obtained, measured by a scientific impersonal determination of the progress of the pupils.
   4. The teacher’s effectiveness and willingness to cooperate in the general organization of the schools.

Accessible Records

This record should be open to inspection by the members of the board, by the superintendent and assistant superintendents, by the principals, and by the teacher whose record it is.

Protecting the Schools from Inefficiency.

When it appears from this record that there is a deterioration in the efficiency of the teacher, the superintendent should notify the teacher and either in person or through a district superintendent should institute a special investigation. The results of this investigation may at the discretion of the superintendent be laid before a committee of the board.

If the committee regards the case as requiring action, it should notify the teacher, appointing a date not less than thirty days thereafter for a hearing. The teacher should in this notice be given a statement of his record and the findings of the superintendent in his special investigation. The teacher may attend the hearing and may be represented by an attorney and may produce witnesses or other evidence. After the hearing the committee may report dismissal for inefficiency. The board may on receipt of such a report at any regular meeting without further hearing dismiss the teacher by a majority vote of the whole membership of the board. The action of the board should be final, not subject to review in any court of law.

Dismissal for other causes may be made only after charges have been preferred in writing. These charges should be taken up after thirty days’ notice to the accused at a hearing before the board or a special committee of the board at which the teacher may be present and may be represented by attorney. After such a hearing the board may dismiss the teacher by a two-thirds vote of all the members of the board.

A Summary of Principles

As a summary of the principles so far set forth, it may be stated that legislation which will adequately correct existing conditions in the schools of our city must provide:

1. A small board of education so constituted by law that it shall perform the functions of a board and not those of the executive staff.

2. An executive management, if it be not under a single head, so constituted and equipped with co-ordinated agencies
as to assure the efficient administration of the various functions of the schools.

3. An adequate definition of tenure of office for the members of the board, the superintendent, and the teaching force.

4. Scientific impersonal tests of efficiency throughout the system.

5. Proper and adequate procedure for the elimination of the unfit.

6. Adequate protection and conservation of the real estate belonging to the school system of the city.
CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOL LEAGUE
516 WESTMINSTER BUILDING
110 S. DEARBORN ST.

John L. Lovett, Secretary

CHICAGO Nov. 20, 1916.

Prof. Harry P. Judson,
University of Chicago,
Chicago, Ills.

Dear Sir:

Believing that you are vitally interested in improving conditions in the public schools, so that the education of the children shall be the most important function in the Public School System of Chicago, we ask you to send us a check for the support of our organization.

The Chicago Public School League was organized for the sole purpose of putting the education of the children ahead of all other school interests and you as a taxpayer are perhaps aware that a few persons opposed to all of your business interests have control of the public schools at this time.

The members of the executive committee are giving their time and money to the work in behalf of the children to see that they receive full benefit from the money put into the school system by the taxpayers. I desire to call your attention to the high standing of the members of the executive committee both in the interest of the public and in the business world.

Please make your check payable to the order of Harry A. Wheeler, Treasurer. Your cooperation is earnestly requested.

Very truly yours,

President.
CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOL LEAGUE

The Metropolitan Building

For the Benefit of Chicago

Dear Sir:

Having read your article of October 9th, 1936, in the Chicago Daily News, I am interested in the public schools of Chicago. I wrote the superintendent of public instruction to ask if you could arrange for me to see the new public schools in Chicago. I am interested in the growth of public education.

The Chicago Public Schools have a strong influence on the educational and social life of the city.

I am interested in the problems of education and I would be happy to see the new schools. I believe that any work is of value if it contributes to the welfare of the community.

Please make your report public to the benefit of the city.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]
Chicago, March 1, 1917

Dear Mr. Schols:

Your favor of November 20th last should have been answered long since. I laid it aside for further consideration, however, and it has seemed to me inadvisable for me to become connected with either of the organizations which have recently been formed on these subjects. I regret that there are two organizations, as it seems to me this must lead to needless collision.

Very truly yours,

H.P.J. - L.

Mr. Carl Schols
516, 110 S. Dearborn St., Chicago
DEAR MR. STOKER:

From your letter of November 20th last you point out the fact that you have been embarrassed by the arrangements made by your office. I find it easy to understand your position. However, I am unable to make any suggestions for the future, as there are not any further communications of importance to me. It is apparent that there is no way for me to express my opinions in the proper way.

Please let me know if there is any way I can assist you.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]
Dear Doctor Judson:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of March 1, and I fully appreciate your position in the matter.

For your information, I beg to say that when our organization learned of the desires of Mr. Pond and his associates to form an organization similar to our own, I called on Mr. Pond and set before him the objects for which we stood and asked him if it were not possible for the two organizations to combine in an effort to eliminate the evils within the Chicago Public School System.

Mr. Pond replied that he did not care to join hands with us as he was of the belief that we represented a too aggressive organization for accomplishing the purpose which he had in mind. He stated further that it was his plan to deal with subjects non-controversial in character and by non-partisan methods try to bring the two extremes, as he stated, represented on one side by the Board of Education and by the Teachers’ Federation on the other, into some kind of a compromise.

The organization of which I am the president, takes the stand that any efforts to improve materially the conditions now existing in the Public Schools of Chicago must be based on the entire elimination of the Teachers’ Federation and its politico-labor activities. No objection is raised to the teachers organizing, if it be for improving their teaching ability, for conducting study and research work or for the purpose of discussing educational matters, in fact, such organizations are to be encouraged we believe. The character of the Teachers’ Federation and the views which it holds are perhaps best represented in the enclosed pamphlet which is a reprint of an address delivered by Miss Margaret Haley, Business Agent of the Chicago Teachers’ Federation at a meeting in the Auditorium Hotel on January 7.
Dear Doctor Tuddenham:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of February 17th. I am fully appreciative of your prompt attention to the matter.

For your information, I beg to say that we have approved the organization of the University of Illinois School of Medicine in the city of Chicago, as we have been led to believe that the proposed location is the best place for such a School. We have been encouraged by the enthusiastic endorsement of the idea by prominent University men and other leaders of the community, and we are satisfied that it will be to the interest of the University and to the community at large.

The organization of which I spoke in the paragraph above will be a part of the University and will be under the control of the University Board of Regents. The Board of Regents will have the power to make appointments to the faculty and to determine the manner in which the School shall be conducted.

Respectfully,

[Signature]

[Address]
I am writing you this merely for your own information so that you cannot be misled in the situation.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]
President.

Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, President,
The University of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois.
I am writing you this letter to inform you that I cannot process your request in the manner you suggest.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Re: [Name, Date, Location]

Dr. [Name], President

The University of Chicago

Chicago, Illinois
How The Public Schools Are Manacled.

Herein is contained the story of the introduction of politics into the educational system of Chicago. Miss Margaret Haley says the Teachers’ Federation should make the course of study—not the superintendent of schools.

This speech is published by the Chicago Public School League because it presents a propaganda to inject anarchy in the Schools of Chicago. It is a shorthand report of an address by Miss Haley to 800 teachers in the Auditorium Hotel on January 7. Some remarkable statements are contained in this pamphlet. Teachers are asked to arouse in the children disrespect for the laws of the United States because a few do not want those laws.

Shall the Public Schools not be free to teach the children of Chicago the fundamentals of Education?

Chicago Public School League
110 South Dearborn Street
ADDRESS BY MISS MARGARET A. HALEY

Business Agent of the Chicago Teachers' Federation.

About 800 teachers attended the meeting of the Chicago Teachers' Federation held in the banquetting Hall of the Auditorium Hotel on Sunday evening, January 7, 1917, when addresses were delivered by Dr. Scott Nearing, of the University of Toledo, and Miss Margaret A. Haley of the Chicago Teachers' Federation.

Mrs. Ida L. M. Farnum, President of the Federation, presided, and very briefly introduced the speakers. Miss Haley's address followed that of Dr. Scott Nearing, and was as follows:

MISS MARGARET A. HALEY: I think it was too bad that Mr. Nearing, Dr. Nearing, should not have kept on. I think this audience needs exactly what was brought to us from the gentleman lately from Pennsylvania. You know he left Pennsylvania in the way that the 68 teachers left the Chicago public schools. (Laughter and applause.)

When he said I invited him to Chicago because of his views, I know that he left Pennsylvania because of some of those views. And we who know the situation in Chicago know that 68 teachers failed of re-election last June because at the present time and for fifteen or sixteen years in Chicago there has been an organization of teachers that has created, and, perhaps, will lead us to continue the creation of that which has been a kind of a ferment that would come from having their new ideas inoculated into the Chicago school system. It is the kind of thing that the Chicago Board of Education, for reasons that Dr. Nearing explained, wants killed. And it is because those teachers do not permit that murder to be effected without making an outcry that you have had the expulsion of June 27th. That is, in broad language, the explanation of what happened.

There are many other broad ways we might put it. I might say, for instance, that the Chicago teachers, perhaps a larger number of them in proportion to the whole number than in any other city in the United States—the Chicago teachers are consciously, deliberately, intelligently and more or less effectively attempting to place themselves and the institutions with which they are connected, the public schools, as an institution, as a whole, on the side of the 65 per cent of the population of this nation which owns the two per cent of the wealth—or the five per cent, or the two per cent. I believe Dr. Scott Nearing said five. Is it?

A VOICE: Five per cent.

MISS HALEY: I don't know how long it is going to be five per cent. But if it is five per cent, then the 65 per cent own 5 per cent of the wealth. They are not on that side consciously or deliberately. Some of them are, perhaps, ignorantly; but none of them consciously though ignorantly are trying to assist in bringing more wealth of the
think, it is entirely made up of statements by one member of the Board of Education who represents the minority. I don't know whether he has disappeared from the hall. He was here a few minutes ago—Mr. Max Loeb. I see he has left. We have reprinted here an article which appeared in "The Survey" of December 29th by Mr. Max Loeb—Mr. Max Loeb. (Laughter and applause.) Also excerpts from a speech made by Mr. Loeb a few days ago before the American Federation of Teachers. That is an organization of teachers, a national organization of teachers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor recently organized. It had its first annual convention in Chicago on December 29th. On that day Mr. Max Loeb appeared before that convention and made some of the statements that are quoted in this paper. You will find some of the statements quite as radical as anything that the gentleman recently from Pennsylvania told you.

Now, for instance, Mr. Loeb said this: "It is a blind teacher indeed who, in preparing a boy or girl to be an efficient worker, does not also train him to insist upon the collection of a proper reward for his work." And also Mr. Max Loeb said: "The instruction has been poorly given if the working boy or girl in the trades does not see the advantage to himself and to society in association with his fellows in labor unions."

That means the instruction in the public school has been poorly given. Mr. Loeb's meaning is perfectly clear there from one question asked in here:

"Shall the teacher advise the boy to join a union or shall he advise him against it?"

One phase of this question, and a very important one, grows out of the fear of the two per cent of the population, speaking through their spokesmen and filtering down until it gets to the Board of Education—the fear that the teacher in the public schools may do that very thing; that they may explain to the children that it is their right, as Mr. Nearing explained to you teachers tonight. You can explain to the children that when they leave the school room it is not only their right and their privilege but their responsibility and their duty to associate with their fellows and act collectively. (Applause.)

And they are afraid of that. They are afraid to have the teachers sitting, as our teachers have this afternoon, in the Chicago Federation of Labor. This afternoon if all the delegates that belong there were present at the meeting, there were twenty or twenty-five teachers sitting in the Chicago Federation of Labor, listening to the discussions of the men from the different unions who were stating the conditions in regard to their work, and the efforts they are making to better their conditions; taking part in those discussions, listening to their troubles and contributing whatever they have to contribute of their own as to their own troubles and the solution of the common troubles of them all. That is what the teachers are doing today.

And not only the representatives from the Chicago Teachers' Federation, but the representatives from two other teachers' organizations: The Federation of High School Teachers, of Women High School Teach-
ers, and the Federation of Men High School Teachers. I should like to read to you a few words if I had the time—and I hope, by the way, that you will read every word of this document and then I will read to you from another one. I want to call your attention to the fact that you are to follow this up. You can fold these pamphlets up and when you have done with it then you can mail it to somebody else who may need it worse than you do. I want you to read everything that is in this pamphlet on the inside as well as the outside, because this is a campaign, a campaign to get together and work more effectively. This is the first of our publicity leaflets, and we hope that it will do a great deal of good. We are going to use every particle of paper in these days, because these days are expensive paper days and we are going to ask that you will do everything that you can, exercise every opportunity that is within your power, to further this publicity campaign of ours.

This is the first meeting of our publicity campaign, so we have certain definite things to accomplish. I hope that you will read this paper and then that you will mail it to somebody else and in this way I hope these pamphlets will keep on going.

Now, you will have another leaflet passed out to you and the president—one of the federation presidents, I think it is the Federation of the Men Teachers, who represent this Chicago federation I have spoken to you about, speaks to you about a revolution. By the way, this official document of the two federations of high school teachers, the men and the women, is to be issued once a month, and if you wish it you may have as many copies of this as you want later.

Now, this president has spoken this passage in a speech which he made before the Women's Congress, I think it was, that was held during the Christmas holidays, showing clearly that great minds run in the same direction, Mr. Stillman's as Dr. Nearing's.

"Respect for instituted authority has been advanced as a necessary acquirement in any pioneer scheme. But there is a kind of intolerant opinion which seems to substitute ex officio respect for earned respect. Respect for instituted authority may easily become a great danger to democracy," and so forth.

I was going to read the next paragraph but it is really not necessary. I hope, however, you will read that if you don't read anything else in the pamphlet. These are the teachers' thoughts, and this is what you should understand in order to understand the kind of leaven that we are insisting shall be put into the teaching force and which we are trying to hold on to until it seizes this nation. That is what we want, because we know that that is the kind of thing which will save this nation.

If we are not to go the way of Europe, and we do not want to, we must have teachers in the public schools who are free; free to speak their minds; free to have minds. That is the difficulty of the matter today in the public school system as it is. The teachers have 48 children, and many teachers have more than 48, under conditions that Dr. Nearing described, and it is difficult to have teachers that are thinkers, and it is more difficult for the children to come out of their class rooms free. And we want to make them free. And we are trying to procure that freedom that we want for the teachers. It is a freedom which makes for the freedom of the human being; it is for the freedom of the children afterwards when they leave the school room; freedom for the children as citizens. We want them to be better human beings in a community of human beings and not mere cogs in the wheels of our boasted industry of today.

They are telling the children today that they must follow the children out of a school room and check up on them—to see whether or not they are going out of the school room fit for going into industries. They are coming into the school room and telling the teachers that they must teach writing as businessmen want it; that they must teach spelling as the businessmen want it; that they must do those things and everything in the school room as business and industry wants it. And when they are telling that to the teacher they are saying to the teacher: "Check up on these children when you send them out." They are being told to check off and find out whether those children are fit to do their work outside of the school room. And that is not all, they are forcing the teachers out of the school room into the industries to see what is being done there. And what do the teachers find? Do they find conditions in the industries fit to receive the children? Do they find conditions fit to send these little human beings into that we have tried to treat as human beings and tried to think of as human beings? Have they found them treated as human beings when they have followed them into the industries? What do you find; what do we find in our industries today? Today these school teachers are sending the school children into human industry. But do they find there conditions into which they should send these school children? We are being told to prepare the children for the industries. We say that you must prepare the industries for the children to go into. (Applause.)

These are the people that are going into the nation today. And the groups of people will organize the people. And they are organized to prepare the people in the nation to do whatever is demanded of them in the industry. It is the organized labor group, and it is natural that the teacher when they started to look into the industries in which they sent 90 per cent of their children—it was natural that they should go to those people and work with this organized labor movement when they started out and saw what kind of industries they were, and what kind of industries they must consider into which these human beings are being sent; and it was natural that they should say to the men in control of those industries: you must respect the child; you must respect these children, you must create a new industry and a new spirit, you cannot exploit these children. We are going to teach these children that when they leave our school rooms that they will meet you and you are going to take care of them in the industry in which you place them. (Applause.)

But the Board of Education came along, and said: "No, you cannot do it. What we will permit you to do is to prepare these children for the conditions as they exist today." That is another quarrel.
between the teachers, the public school teachers who are alert and awake on one side and the Board of Education that are unthinking as the teachers are thinking of those conditions, because, as Dr. Nearing has said, they do not touch the lives of the children.

These teachers live with the children, they live for those children. They live through those children and why shouldn't they live for the children? And why shouldn't they think for the children; why shouldn't they think of the children? They are the ones who are thinking of them and doing it, and all of this cant and hypocrisy that we know of, the cant and hypocrisy today, talking about growth and correcting other conditions, we know that is not true. They are thinking of the Almighty Dollar. They are not thinking as you do about sending these children out of the schoolroom to be the willing workers that they want; and when they do not succeed sufficiently in every way, they are starting in to establish military training in the schools. (Applause.) That is one way to insure obedience. That is one of the largest factors in bringing military training into the schools. That is the way to strike a blow at democracy. Let us prepare ourselves, as Dr. Nearing has pointed out, after this war is over, to play the part that they are preparing for us if we are not awake. For it seems that is one object, and there is no object more important than that object of getting the obedience of the children. They want the children's minds so trained that when they are told to stand they will stand, and when they are told to sit, they will sit, and when they are told to do that it will be done. They don't want the revolutionary spirit that Dr. Nearing spoke about. God bless the Dr. Nearing. I wish they were in every university. (Applause.)

They say we haven't had any lecture courses in the Chicago Teachers' Federation; they say we haven't had any educators for seventy-seven years. We have had people talking as Dr. Nearing talked tonight to the teachers of Chicago. Is that because we didn't have educators, or is it because we did have educators? (Applause.) We didn't have the right stamp of educators, that is the trouble. (Laughter and applause.) This is the stamp of educators that we have had. This is the woman (referring to a picture of Catherine Goggin)—this is the Catherine Goggin who founded the Chicago Teachers' Federation, Catherine Goggin. We are commemorating tonight the first anniversary of Catherine Goggin leaving us. One year ago she left us the work that we must take up alone. She was the one who eighteen or twenty years ago, when most of the teachers did not even know that they had rights, she was the one who pointed out to the teachers the way that they must go. She was the one who with Colonel Parker, another of our great educators, and like Mr. Tomlin, and Mr. Spear, Colonel Parker, Mrs. Black, Mrs. Young—those were our five great educators that we have had in the last twenty years, and she was the one who made the teachings of those educators agree for the teachers of Chicago. She translated it into collective action for the teachers. Those five great educators of ours, and there have never been five greater anywhere than those five whom I have named, have done a great work. Chicago doesn't know it, but the teachers know it. When one of those men died, Colonel Parker, in 1902, a German Prince arrived in America the very same day that they brought Colonel Parker's body back to Chicago. The newspapers of Chicago had about this much space in their papers for Colonel Parker (indicating a small space), and they had whole pages and columns of pages for the distinguished prince that nobody ever heard of afterwards and nobody ever heard of before and nobody would have ever heard of at all if he did not have a royal title. Chicago did not know that one of the world's greatest figures had left it at that time. Perhaps the people of Chicago two or three hundred years from now may go back and fix the day when they will commemorate the name of Francis W. Parker (applause) as the man who woke up the minds of the teachers of Chicago; the man who out of that normal school thundered in season and out of season against the same thing that Dr. Scott Nearing thundered against tonight, only he applied himself more exclusively to the educational field. He did not go into the field of economics except casually. But you cannot take a group of people really and educate them in the field of education, but what you must see is that they make their minds up within the field of economics and within the political field. That is the wonderful thing about it. And Colonel Parker got the teachers to make up their minds and go back to where they were before his time, and so Colonel Parker became a national leader and he made the teachers of Chicago really educators themselves so that these teachers have been able to make themselves felt for twenty years.

But what has our fight been? It has been for the freedom for the teachers, the same kind of freedom for the teachers that these educators contemplate for the children. As Dr. Nearing told you, you cannot have forty-eight children sitting in these seats in the traditional way and have no educational processes going on. Colonel Parker told us that, and those that followed him, and we with him, and you know it, that is going on with the children. But they don't know that. And we know that you cannot have freedom for the children if you do not have freedom for the teacher. The Chicago Teachers' Federation, with Catherine Goggin as its founder, its guide, its inspiration, its leader, its genius and its wonderful judicial adviser, Catherine Goggin has gone ahead in all of these twenty years and the Chicago Teachers' Federation has not only been demanding freedom for the teachers, freedom of thought, freedom of expression, freedom from economic need that would make it possible for them to do their work, but freedom in all of these directions, not only as demanded but to some extent we have secured it. And this effort today means that an attempt has been made—I say attempt, for it has not succeeded—an attempt has been made, the determination has been registered that that work shall cease; that the work that Catherine Goggin and those educators whom I have named before us in this city shall die, and it shall not go on. That is what the fight means. That is what this treatment of 68 teachers in June means; that is what we want the people of this city to understand, we are putting it up to
them, to those who do not so understand it now. What we want to do is to get the facts before them.

Now, I don't want you to take my interpretation of the facts, but I want you to take the facts themselves. I would like to state them in this meeting. This meeting is the first of a series of meetings. It begins the work for the Chicago Teachers' Federation. Just exchange these pamphlets and give your minds to the important details connected with it, and if you do as have others then you will come to the conclusion that I have come to, that it is because our work has been in the interest of the people of Chicago and not because it has not been that this blow has come to us that 68 teachers were dropped last June in order to intimidate the rest of the teachers. And for all we know, and because of the indications at this time, the chances are that more are coming next June.

There is fear in the minds of the teachers of Chicago today, and that is the most destructive thing that can be thought of in connection with the work of the public schools. Nothing that can be done in general interferes with the efficiency of the teachers of Chicago, but the blow that was struck at the public schools on June 27th did interfere with it. When notice was served on every teacher, efficient and inefficient, those that belonged to the organization and those that were outside of it, that no teacher in the system was safe at the end of the year, that every teacher's name would come up a few minutes before the time of electing the teachers and that names may be dropped from the list without notice—that is what happened on June 27th. Think of it. No charge has been made yet; nothing has been told to one single one of those teachers as to why she was not elected. No statement was made beforehand; no teacher knew that her name was on the list. Some of them were present at the meeting and some were not there. I have a stenographic report of the minutes. I have every word that was spoken at that meeting. We have had it printed, and not one member of the Board of Education evidently—there may have been one, there may have been two, but there appeared to be not one except the president who knew whose names were on the list of sixty-eight. At least they were in the minds of two others, apparently. There may have been others; if so, they were disgusted. Many members of the Board wished to know why those names had been selected. The man who brought the list in for the president refused to tell. The president refused to tell. The question was asked him: "What have those teachers done?" He refused to answer; and when one question was asked as to one special teacher, he refused to answer that. Now, the question was asked: "Have they been notified respecting the names?" But no answer was given. Another question was asked: "Who made up this list?" And the president answered that he made up the list. Then another question was asked: "Did the superintendent of schools have anything to do with the making up of that list of sixty-eight?" And the answer came from the president: "No, he did not." He made the list. The superintendent of schools had recommended those sixty-eight teachers. Why did the president of the Board of Education bring in a list of sixty-eight names through another member of the Board and hand it up to the secretary and ask that these teachers be not elected? He did it in order to intimidate the 7,800 others. (Applause.)

In that list of 68 there were 38 who could be called either federation members or federation sympathizers; the other 30—we know the reason that they had to put in the 30 who were in outside of the five superintendents whose names appeared, and the two members. The rest of the thirty or twenty-three of them, who were not members of the Federation, were people eligible for membership in the Federation and were not members. And the reason the president had put those twenty-three in there with the others was because the injunction rested against the Board of Education restraining it and its officers and the superintendent of schools, and everybody connected with the system, from interfering with the teachers because of their membership in the Chicago Federation, in the Chicago Teachers' Federation, or in any organization affiliated with labor. An injunction had been secured from the lower court which had been sustained by the Appellate Court, and that injunction ran against the Board of Education, and had the Board of Education elected only members of the Teachers' Federation, it would have been liable for contempt of court, and so they had to select from the group who were not members of the Federation as well as from the group who were within the Federation in order not to be liable immediately for contempt. That is the reason they both were selected.

And how did they select? I haven't got our paper before me, but if I had I could show it to you; but I would show you one single name left on the official paper, and that is my name. (Laughter and applause.) And the only reason they did not take my name off is because it does not belong to them. (Laughter and applause.) And the officers and teachers of the Federation not in the list of sixty-eight, the four members of the Teachers' Pension Board elected by the teachers, the Teachers' Pension Board, which has six members elected by the teachers and three members by the Board of Education—four members of the Pension Board of those elected by the teachers were in the list of sixty-eight. And nine teachers who were on the commission elected by the teachers to count the ballots for the Pension Board were on the list of those that went.

Then there is an organization known as the Educational Council organized by the Board of Education itself, presumably to give voice to the sentiments and opinions of the teaching body. They were picked out from that group, that officially organized group, the recognized leaders of the teachers. They were on the list to go, and did go.

That is the way those teachers were selected.

There were a few exceptions to that rule. There were a few teachers who were not selected, perhaps, because of their connection with any of the official organizations, because of that capacity, but they are exceptions to the rule. But that is done so as to notify the teaching body of this city that the Board of Education wants no collective activity. It wants no organized effort of any kind among the teaching body, official or unofficial. And since the 27th of June they have sus-
do we ask people to accept our statements without proof. We have begun to hold these meetings and we believe as we did when we started into this work.

We began a few years ago when the teachers all over the nation were feeling very much the pressure of low salaries in view of the increased demands of the teachers who had nothing to meet them with. Catherine Goggin led the teachers in the first effort to get increased salaries. But what did the Board do when they got them? It was taken back again. In 1897 the primary teachers, and there were about three thousand of them—the primary teachers got a maximum salary of $800, and after seven years—they began with $500 and went up to $800, and it was increased to $875 after seven years. Miss Catherine Goggin understood the situation, and they sent a petition to the Board of Education. Dr. William Rainey Harper was a member of the Board at that time. And what do you think Dr. Harper said? He said he could put into the Chicago Public Schools all the teachers that the Board needed, university graduates, he said, at $50 a month. That is the way that Dr. Harper met the request of the teachers for an increase in salary.

And Dr. Emil G. Hirsch told me on the 27th of November, 1916, as we left a meeting that he had addressed in the Sinai Temple; he said—I did not know that he was going to make any reference to this matter—he said: "I was out with Dr. Harper getting money for the University a number of years ago," and he said, "I said to him, 'Dr. Harper, how can you expect university professors for twelve hundred dollars a year?"" and he said Dr. Harper immediately said, "'For every man that would leave on twelve hundred dollars I could put others in their place at six hundred dollars.'"

And yet there is a school called after Dr. Harper, and Dr. Harper has been advertised as an educator. (Laughter.) Is that the attitude of an educator who can get all that he can out of a human being because, perforce, they may be forced to take it? Is that the attitude of an educator? We are fighting that attitude. We say that is not education. We say that is not the attitude of an educator. We say it is not an honest, a fair, a square attitude for the Board of Education, because they can go on the outside and put in to this teaching force teachers on a lower salary. They can do it and we have found out that we have got to fight it, not only with Dr. Harper, but we had to fight it for twenty years on the Board of Education because that has been the attitude that has been adopted down there. They say: "Why should you asked for more when we can go outside and bring in all of the teachers we want out of the country schools and put them in here?"

Is that a fair, square attitude? And does that attitude appeal to you? It is that attitude and that struggle that has brought about and which is responsible for this trouble.

But after this salary schedule was procured, then what happened? It was not paid. We have been told, and it was told many times, that the only reason that the schedule was given to the teachers was because politicians did not want to get the teachers aroused, and they
said: “Give them the schedule.” But Dr. Harper said, “We cannot pay it,” and others said, “We cannot pay it.” But the politicians said, “Give it anyway. If you cannot pay it when you get to that place, if you cannot pay them, then you can take it away,” and that is just what they did. In 1899 they took away what they gave us in 1898; and in 1900, the teachers woke up to the fact by reading the newspapers that one hundred million dollars was being lost in taxation. But the taxpayers said, “No, that is not happening in this city.” But a man teacher saw it in the paper. He does not remember what paper he saw it in, but he came to the office of the Teachers’ Federation and we investigated it and we found out it was true.

He brought the facts and the teachers put their heads together as we have asked you tonight, and they went to work and made an investigation, and it was one of the most interesting investigations that I ever made in my life. It was an investigation that we made between the Christmas and the New Year in 1899. And we came upon some wonderful figures. We found out, for instance, that the Pullman Company was escaping taxation on a hundred million dollars of value that it had never been taxed upon. We found out that five of the public utility corporations were escaping on more than two hundred millions dollars. We found out those facts and the teachers were surprised. And they hired teachers to look into the matter. That had never been done before. And they made an investigation of these public service utilities. They gave the financial support and they found out that another public service corporation was using the public streets and capitalizing their value, and we said to these public service corporations that that was not a fair deal or a square deal. And so we said: “Let us look into it further, and we did. They asked Miss Goggins and myself to carry on these investigations, because they knew that we could not do such a work and stay in the schoolroom. We came out at their request and the teachers have paid the salaries of Miss Goggins and myself to stay out of the schoolroom to do that work for seventeen years. When we got start we found there was so much to do that it took ten of us to do it, and, in fact, now it takes a whole thirty-eight that Jake Loeb gave us to look after it. (Laughter and applause.)

Then what did the Board of Education do? The Board of Education not only ordered that all teachers affiliated with labor unions should not be permitted to teach in the Chicago Public Schools, but they also made a part of the Loeb Rule No. 1 a provision that no organization of teachers—that no teacher could teach in the public schools who belonged to an organization or was an officer; that the officer shall not be a teacher. Miss Goggins and myself were the only officials in the organization in Chicago who were not teachers, and Miss Goggins and I were outlawed in the Chicago Teachers’ Federation, because they employed us to do this work, because they could not get at us when they did not like the way we did it. They outlawed the organization that employed Miss Goggins and myself, and they outlawed Miss Goggins, she found, so far as the Board of Education is concerned; she was outlawed by edict of the Board of Education. But the people of Chicago said what they thought of her in this memorial bulletin which you may have at the door when you go out. You will find out what the people of Chicago think of an outlaw. You will see the honor that was conferred on Miss Goggins, by the City Council of Chicago—an honor that has never been conferred on any other woman before. She was honored by being taken to the City Council of Chicago and there we were permitted to pay our respects to the Board of Education outlaw. In the City Council of Chicago, in this memorial bulletin, you will find a picture of the City Council’s chambers as it appeared that night. You will see the token of affection of the teachers in Chicago in the City Council chambers. One man said that night that never before had anything of that kind occurred in the council chambers. He said: “This chamber is sanctified tonight.” And it was sanctified. That was one year ago tonight, teachers of Chicago.

And the persons giving honor to this woman know also that the Chicago Board of Education is outlawed. The woman that you have honored, the woman they outlawed and who has been conspired against, is the woman that has shown you the way to freedom, freedom for yourselves, in order that you may have freedom for the children. That woman’s fight is calling you tonight, and you must go and you dare not betray yourselves. You dare not betray your cause. The teachers of the United States are looking to you. You must do what you know is the right thing. And you will do it; you will do it, because you have had the advantages, you teachers in Chicago, all these long years that we have been struggling.

Our story is a wonderful story, a story that we started out in December of 1906, Miss Goggins and I, and we have worked over it and we have brought you back the results. You should come every month, sometimes two or three times a month, and you will be told what was the trouble in the City of Chicago; things that you do not know and that other people do not know. We want to tell you about the great work and the failure of the public officials. You were told how these great corporations that have never paid a dollar of taxes on their franchises, how they were trying to get back of you. We told you how the man that is today the speaker of the house, for instance, told us when we went to the Legislature in 1901, and tried to stop the bill that was going to destroy your pensions; when we went to him and said: “These teachers who live in your district want you to work against this bill. It will destroy the teachers’ pension fund.” Well, he turned to me and said: “When you women teachers stay in your schoolrooms, we men will take care of you; but when you come out of the schoolroom as you have done, and attack these great and powerful corporations, you must expect that they will hit back.”

Yes, I am talking about a member of the present House of Representatives, the present Speaker of the House of Representatives, the man who was elected a few days ago. I said to him: “Ah, then, I am to understand that this pension bill in the Legislature, this bill which will destroy the teachers’ pension fund, is the corporations’ comeback on us for making them pay their taxes?” And this honorable
gentleman looked me in the eye, and said "Yes," and then turned on his heels and went back into his seat in the Legislature, and he is there yet. **

After we had gone into the court to fight the Board of Education, after we had done many other things, we learned then that the City Council of Chicago was still contemplating to give the streets of Chicago to those same public service corporations, and that without consideration. Then the Teachers' Federation joined in the crusade, and they helped to circulate a petition which they put before the people of Chicago on the question of public ownership of public utilities. That was the work of the Teachers' Federation. Those petitions never could have been circulated but for the teachers. And when those petitions were circulated, 140,000 signatures were secured, and the petition was filed with the City Council, and the petition was put upon the ballot, and the people voted on three questions put there by the Teachers' Federation itself. One was in regard to the ownership of the gas; the other was in regard to public ownership of the street railways; and the third was the direct primaries.

During the time that was being circulated, that petition, one of the ex-members of the Board of Education told me that he met a little girl on the street in Chicago, and she stepped up to him and said: "Sir, do you want 50-cent gas and 3-cent carfare?" and he said: "Yes, we certainly do." "Well, then, sir, sign this petition." (Laughter and applause.)

The teachers did not give the petition to the children on the sacred grounds of the schoolhouse or the building. No. They were given out on the sidewalk, which is public property. And they had given them to the children that way. And the work of the teachers helped to circulate it, and the children had gone out, and the same thing shall be done again. The children did their best to get signed the petition, and they explained it was for the 5-cent carfare and the 50-cent gas, and we passed that, and the direct primaries. That is the way these school children got the petition signed.

The children and the teachers have begun to take part in great civic activity. In two weeks' time we got 140,000 signatures that the politicians did not think the City of Chicago ever could get, when they allowed the public policy law to be passed. In 1901 the Legislature made 25 per cent. of the registered voters necessary to petition on questions of public policy. The politicians calculated at that time that there was no organization in the City of Chicago which could get 25 per cent. of the registered voters to sign a petition. They had not counted on the teachers; they had not counted on the public school children.

After we got their petition and filed it, the people voted five to one in favor of public ownership, and in favor of the direct primaries. And then what happened? We see the City Council going on just the same, giving away franchises and ignoring the will of the people. And we have seen something else noted. The public in the City of Chicago when they express their will, have no power of backing it up. The Teachers' Federation started the thing. The next crusade was to get a petition filed with the Secretary of State on another question of public policy, and that question was with reference to the initiative and referendum, by amendment to the State Constitution, which would give the people power by which they might express themselves or the tools to work with which to express themselves on that phase of the law. And so with reference to the initiative and referendum, the teachers went out with a petition, and that petition they would have to file with the Secretary of State. In 1902 the petition was filed, and in 1902 the people of the State of Illinois cast their vote on a number of things, and the teachers of Chicago circulated the petition to vote on a public policy question, that of the initiative and referendum. And, by an overwhelming vote, I think of five to one, the people of this State instructed the Legislature of this State to put before the people an amendment to the Constitution providing for the initiative and referendum. But the people of this State have not got it yet. The initiative and referendum has not yet been won.

I sat in the Legislature in 1913; I sat up in the balcony, and I saw the initiative and referendum defeated. I saw the big boss of Illinois sitting in a high place, an honored place in the House of Representatives. I was in the balcony and I saw him. I saw him sit and look into the eyes of the people, but he was not their boss. I saw that the initiative and referendum was defeated. It had passed the Senate; it had passed the House once; it took 102 votes, and for a few moments my heart beat with joy; I thought we had it. I thought we had the necessary 102 votes. Then I saw one of the creatures, a man of this crawling stock of creatures, who were, I believe, in reference to this thing, had a same knowledge of this public question; I saw him get up when he found out 102 votes had been cast, and change his vote. Then I saw the crime against the people of this city committed by that person against the people, when that man changed his vote. And that man was pledged over his signature to vote for it, pledged to the people of this district, and that is what happened. And what happened next? He was re-elected to the next session of the Legislature.

Isn't it necessary, isn't it important, isn't it essential, that the teaching body of this city should be woke up by the people working in this movement? And what is going to become of this nation that can make such history as that? What can become of the State of Illinois which can write such a history as that?

I could stand here on this platform for hours and tell you things that have occurred in this city within the last fifteen years, in which the Teachers' Federation has been engaged, which would be an eye-opener to the people of this city. They do not know what the teachers have been doing; they do not know what activities the teachers have been taking part in. You would not have the direct primary on the books today if it were not for the teachers; you would not have a good street car service in the city. This would not be as good a city as it is if we had not forced the issue on public ownership. We forced them to put a Mayor in the chair who believes in public ownership. We hoped he believed in the public schools; but it took a Mayor who be
lieved in public ownership to bring things to a crisis. He did believe in the public ownership of the public schools, but we have got to go beyond that.

You know that today your schools are privately owned, privately controlled in the interests of the private individuals, a group of private individuals. If you want the public schools publicly owned and publicly controlled, then the people of this city must wake up. We have to face the facts. The people must be willing to go to the schoolhouse, if necessary, to get these petitions up. We are willing now, the Chicago Teachers' Federation, to take whatever time is necessary, one night a week, or one night a month, or whatever time is necessary, to come to you and give you the facts.

As I said in the beginning, this is the beginning of our publicity campaign. We will tell you all about these plans; we will tell you of everything we have been doing for every month of every year since we started this work seventeen years ago. We object to having our organization condemned without a hearing. We are offering you the proof, and if it is proved, then we are going to ask you to stand back of it. And we are going to ask you to stand back of it, not for the sake of the organization, but to stand back of it for the sake of the children; for the sake of your dearest institution, the public school; for the sake of this great State of Illinois, because we know that, incorporated in that, there is true democracy. Give me democratic institutions, including the public schools—and the perpetuity of that institution depends on the public schools—then, the public school is the basis of it. Take away that as they are trying to do, don't forget that, and democracy falls apart. The big interests of this nation are not going to imperil the public school system. That is interfering with the ground on which it stands. Your public school today is going in the direction, in exactly the direction that will take the ground out from under the seat of plutocracy. And they have made up their minds to turn it around. They are going to New York. There are 700 teachers in New York in labor unions. It is going on in every city in the nation. They are looking to Chicago as a leader, and the reason they struck the blow at us here, is because we have been the leaders, and we intend to keep that leadership. And we want it now with the full knowledge and consent of the people of this city. We want every man in this house tonight to know these facts, and the public, and we will give them to you in detail; we will give them to you printed, and we will bring them to you in the form of books. We are going to have some one else next time; we have men who will open your eyes, as Dr. Nearing has, and they will be equally good, and we will have as beautiful a singer as Miss Hall here, and we hope you will come and bring others with you.

Now, don't forget to mail these pamphlets. I hope you are sufficiently appreciative of Mr. Buck, and what he is trying to do (applause), so that when meetings are called to tell you of the things that we are trying to do, you will come to these meetings and help us. (Loud applause.)
February 11, 1909.

My dear Doctor Judson:—

You are more or less conversant with the Chicago public school situation, which, as you know, has been made the subject of a good deal of study by the Merchants' Club and the Commercial Club. The Commercial Club lately decided to crystallize their past educational activities in drafting a modification of the Illinois School Law, which we expect to introduce at Springfield and hope to have enacted. I have taken the liberty of enclosing a copy of the proposed draft, which I would ask that you kindly keep confidential. We should greatly appreciate having your criticism, and if it meets with your approval we would like to have the privilege of giving publicity to any statement that you may care to make providing it should later on appear to us expedient to do so.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Chairman Educational Committee, Commercial Club.

Dr. Harry Pratt Judson,
President University of Chicago,

Chicago.
February 19, 1909

Dear Mr. Robinson:-

Your favor of the 11th inst. with proposed amendments to the School Law was duly received. The amendments are in the direction of an improvement, I am sure. One or two points -

1. Section 18 provides that the Board shall consist of fifteen members. That I think is too large; it seems to me that seven would be in every respect adequate, and five would be better still. The larger you make such a body, the more and more it tends to become a debating society.

2. Paragraph 23 makes the important provision of distinct educational and business administrations. This is excellent.

3. Paragraph 30 empowers the Board to let school property for a term not longer than ninety-nine years. I doubt very much the advisability of such long term leases.

4. Paragraph 38 fixes certain school ages. It seems to me
Dear Mr. Hopkins:

Your letter of the 17th inst. with your suggestions on the improvement of the endowment were received with interest. In the direction of an improvement, I am sure one or two points of instruction be pointed out.

I have a special note that the Board still continue of fifteen members. That I think is too large, it seems to me that seven members are not very numerous and five would be better.

The Board of Directors make such a body the more and more it seems to become a legislative society.

Perhaps, it makes the important provision of Griffith.

In education and business administration this is excellent.

I would recommend the Board to fix the school property for a term not longer than thirty-nine years. I think very much the satisfaction of such Board term reassures.

Perhaps a little certainty of success. It seems to me
that might well be left to the discretion of the Board.

5. Paragraph 45: Possibly in the first sentence there is an ambiguity in meaning.

I trust the General Assembly will adopt the proposed plan.

Very truly yours,

H. P. Judson

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Mr. T. W. Robinson,  
Illinois Steel Company,  
Commercial National Bank Bldg., Chicago.
That might well be left to the discretion of the Board.

2. Paragraphs 46: Positively in the first sentence there is an expediency to mention.

I grant the General Assembly will adopt the proposed plan.

Very truly yours,

H. P. Judson

Mr. T. W. Robinson, President Steel Company.
Commerce National Bank Edg., Chicago.